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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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5 November 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CATHOLIC EVANGELISM DESCRIBED AS ANTICOMMUNIST

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 9, Sep 84 pp 49-61

[Article by Josef Karola: "Evangelism in the Plans of Clerical Anticommunism"]

[Excerpts] The theme of evangelism and Christianity, present in every critical reflection on political clericalism, is nothing new. In a certain sense, one can say that the whole history of Christianity has actually been a history of evangelism. The term "evangelism" usually meant the proclamation of the gospel in "mission" lands; in the so-called Christian countries, it [proclamation] was presented as catechization.

It is well known that methods employed in evangelism were by no means limited to a simple proclamation of "the good news"; their characteristic component was a "conversion" by force everywhere where the suggestive force of "the word of God" was failing.

In connection with present-day reappraisal of the relationship of Christianity to the so-called secular world, caused by the deep crisis of the ecclesiastic and religious complex, some new elements are starting to appear in the concepts of evangelism. (Pope John Paul II even spoke of "a new era of evangelism" during his appearance in Lagos.)

Today, Christian churches are giving up the so-called Constantinian model, which failed them miserably, but in spite of the frequent proclamations that their present-day activity has a purely spiritual objective they never cease to be interested in intervening in "worldly affairs." Parallel to a "general weakening of the status of religion, a remarkable activization of church institutions is taking place."

Even though political consequences of the activities of religious organizations need not be unequivocal and apparent at first sight, and may in reality frequently even contradict each other, the decisive line of church centers (congruent with the schemes of world anticommunism) is the intensification of the struggle against progressive forces, communist parties and socialist states.

Precisely in this connection, the ideological significance of a Marxist-Leninist analysis of Christian churches' concept of evangelism comes to the

fore. Inasmuch as the theme of evangelism fundamentally affects the nature of the existence of religious institutions in "the modern world" and their *raison d'être*, extraordinary attention is being paid to it both by theological experts as well as in the realm of pastoral activity.

This applies in the first place to present-day Catholicism (but in no lesser measure also to Protestant denominations; including the World Council of Churches), as one can judge even from a mere enumeration of characteristic actions: The Fourth Synod of Bishops, held in September and October 1974, dealt with the theme "Evangelism in the Contemporary World." In October 1980, a congress whose theme was "Atheism and Evangelism" met in Rome (under the auspices of the papal Collegium Urbanum). The topic of a special symposium of European Catholic bishops held in Rome (in October 1982) was the problem of "Corporate Responsibility of Bishops and Bishops' Conferences in Europe in Evangelizing the Continent." In all the above-mentioned instances, ideological and political characteristics of the Catholic Church's evangelism project were very much in evidence.

When evaluating the resolutions of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) we get the impression that it was here where the course of a broadest adaptation of church life to the rhythm of the modern world, etc., was laid out. But the council's "aggiornamento" is certainly not a purpose in itself but a means to attain the goals of evangelization, or possibly a kind of general methodology of evangelism.

During his trip to Brazil in 1980, Pope John Paul II stated that evangelization "would not be complete if it did not keep in mind the ties which exist between the proclamation of the gospel and the individual and social life of man." In the apostolic exhortation "Catechesis tradendae" from 15 May 1980 there is a statement that speaks to this point: "Thus the Roman Catholic Church tries to evangelize not only individuals and societal groups but also the institutions of public life, social and governmental structures. The means of evangelization are not only the values and principles of the Catholic religious doctrine but also the values and principles of a sociopolitical doctrine which are supposed to transform the existing social and governmental legal, political, cultural, and economic systems."

Without going into details, we can state that the whole institutional basis of the church is fully subordinated to this evangelization strategy, starting with an army of secular priests, members of orders, the lay apostolate (in which special significance is being assigned to the role of Catholic women), through the activity of various educational, cultural, missionary or charitable establishments and means of mass communication, and ending with the activities of Catholic interest organizations closely tied to the church, Christian-democratic or people's parties, and labor unions, etc.

Quite a special chapter in the evangelization offensive of the Catholic Church (one that would deserve a deeper analysis and evaluation) are Pope John Paul's trips to foreign lands. Their geographical destinations, their

timetable as well as their agenda testify quite unmistakably that the pontiff's "pastoral" interests, exaggerated by propaganda, are actually always but a cover for pushing through quite definite political intentions in the spirit of the church's social teaching.

One of the dominant aims of the Catholic Church's evangelization efforts is an all-encompassing control of the cultural life of society. The appropriate processes for attaining this goal were discussed thoroughly at the Second Vatican Council. An "open" access to all values of the cultural progress of mankind, which was manifested here in the directive "Joy and Hope," was supposed to be a kind of quiet assessment of the era of the syllabus, the index, and the holy office, and, at the same time, a starting point of the unfolding of the Roman Catholic Church's cultural offensive.

In his own way, the current highest representative of the church, John Paul II, continues along this line. According to his apostolic directive on "Christian Wisdom" from the year 1979, the church is to assert its "evangelizing mission" not only by winning more people and infiltrating new areas, but also by participating "in the spirit of the gospel" in shaping "the principles of thought, the criteria of evaluation and norms of human activity, in short, by striving for the whole human culture to be permeated by the gospel." "The gospel is not bound to any particular culture; it is capable of permeating all cultures."

In an effort to strengthen the influence of the church in the realm of culture, the Papal Cultural Council was established recently on orders of John Paul II. At the inauguration of the activity of this Vatican institution, John Paul II delivered a speech on 18 January 1984 outlining its program. When he pointed to "the enormous abyss" between Christianity and present-day culture, he called for a search for steps that would enable the church "to inject into present-day mentality the whole uniqueness of the gospel message" and to find a way especially to the young generation. In the interest of "the evangelization of culture" and "the cultural advancement of man," it is supposedly necessary to employ a suitable form of dialogue with "the cultures of our days." "This dialogue," the pope continued, "is an absolute necessity for the church, since otherwise evangelism would remain a dead letter... At the end of the 20th century, just as at the time of the apostle (Paul), the church must be open to all and for all, and it must break into present-day cultures with understanding. There still exist places and mentalities, even whole regions, that are waiting for evangelism...."

The church looks upon the phenomenon of atheism as "one of the most critical realities" that stand in the way of its evangelization plans. Within the framework of accelerated evangelization activity, the Roman Catholic central office is starting to formulate new attitudes toward atheism (especially the atheism of the Marxist-Leninist variety) which push into background the intentions of the so-called dialogic Catholicism of the 60's. While avant-garde Catholic theologians and philosophers (e.g., G. Girardi, J. Lacroix and others) admitted that atheism is a phenomenon that has its own inner

logic and socially motivated genesis, so that it cannot be reduced to a mere "negation of God," Pope John Paul II proclaims that "unbelief, lack of religious sentiment, and atheism can be understood as human phenomena to the extent to which they are in relationship to religion and faith."

Starting from this premise, the pope constructs a model of a world outlook in which the sadly infamous clerical vices are being portrayed as characteristic marks of present-day atheism. "Political atheism" is being accused of violating human rights, and in the realm of ethics is being associated with vulgar materialistic tendencies and consumerism.

It appears that Pope John Paul II has been following the course which began to assert itself during the papacy of Paul VI when a special Institute for the Study of Atheism was established (in 1977) to pursue criticism of atheism.

A characteristic of Pope John Paul II's relationship to atheism is a return of sorts to the old schemes of militant political Catholicism that declared atheism to be "a spiritual plague," "cancer of the soul," and the like.

Thus, for instance, during his trip to some African states in 1980, John Paul II identified atheism as a tendency toward coarse material pleasures. In his effort to discredit the Marxist-Leninist worldview, he proclaimed that materialism leads to the slavery of a soulless struggle for material advantages and to an even worse slavery of man, of his body and soul--to an "atheistic ideology."

The escalation of this ideological effort can be illustrated by the proceedings of a congress which took place at the Collegium Urbanum in Rome, 6-10 October 1980, and which dealt with the theme "Atheism and Evangelism." This meeting, also attended by non-Catholic theologians, concentrated on "the history, the forms and the strategy of the revolt against God on earth." Pope John Paul II also appeared at the congress and termed present-day atheism "a mass phenomenon" and "a tragedy of our time." He proclaimed that the church (Christianity) is being confronted by atheism on all sides: "From the East and from the West, from capitalist countries and from socialist countries, from the world of culture and the world of work; no age group, neither the young nor the old, can escape it."

At this congress some realistic ideas were voiced, based on the assumption that Christians must get used to living together with atheists, that the church cannot overcome modern atheism to the extent that "as a social phenomenon it will cease to exist." However, these considerations, which need "a more serious and more profound dialogue" than the church has been willing to engage in thus far, were pushed into the background. The fact remains that due to ecclesiastical pragmatism the interests and the goals of evangelism left their mark on, or, to put it more precisely, distorted the concept of a dialogue.

In summary, it can be said that especially as a result of John Paul II's appearances in which he changed the course of the church, some serious changes are taking place in the relationship of the Catholic Church to atheism. In accordance with the offensive of present-day imperialism and as a part of the "crusade" against socialism, the Catholic clericalism is taking a "harder line," that is, "from the tactics of a dialogue to a more or less open anticommunist attack." It seems that a militant antiatheism and religiously motivated megalomania that points to the will of "providence" are among the most important bonds of the world anticommunist front. (Cf. the address of Pope John Paul II in Gniezno in 1979, in which he referred to a supernatural predestination in the question of a Europe united on the basis of Christianity, and a lecture in Concord, New Hampshire in 1982 by R. Reagan, who presented himself as the executor of God's plans entrusted to America.)

It is obviously no exaggeration to point out in this connection that "the Reagan phenomenon" is inseparably connected with "the Wojtyla phenomenon." It cannot be denied that Pope John Paul II and President Reagan have different opinions about many individual problems of the current world situation. But it is essential that both of them are almost fanatically obsessed by the idea that today's world is threatened in its very foundations by "unclean powers of the devil," i.e., by the powers of atheism and communism.

One can cite as an eloquent proof of this common religious position Reagan's address before the annual meeting of the National Council of Evangelicals in the United States in Orlando, Florida, in which he labeled the Soviet Union "the center of evil" or possibly "the evil empire" so that he may justify "theologically" the absurd armaments program of the United States.

Let us add that the mental processes of Pope John Paul II are following closely along the same paths. In his Franciscan sermon in Greccion in February 1983 he proclaimed: "The denial of God, the atheism that infiltrates a theoretical and practical system or simply rules in the life of the consumer society [and leads] to the loss of any moral feeling, is the source of all present-day evil."

A specific, and at the same time unique, component of the current clerical philosophy of history is the newly revived idea of a so-called Christian Europe, whose particularly ardent advocate is the present pope, John Paul II. Let us just note that the aforementioned idea, colored by a messianic vision of Polish romanticism of the 19th century (a Slavic pope as "the father of Christendom and mankind"), permeated all important papal addresses during his first visit to the Polish People's Republic.

In the pope's address at the conference of the Polish episcopate in Gniezno, there is a sketch of Europe that shows a basic agreement with church tradition but overlooks the dialectic of history and of the current situation. John Paul II stated then, among other things: "Christianity must redefine its role in shaping the spiritual unity of Europe. This unity is not the fruit of economic and social causes. It is necessary to go deeper, to the

ethical causes." "Europe must return to Christianity" since "it [Christianity] is its spiritual heritage."

Likewise, the pope used his trip to Spain in 1982 to propagate "Christian Europeanism." He stated specifically that the history of the formation of European nations goes hand in hand with their evangelicalism. In the pilgrimage center Santiago de Compostella in Galicia he recited a prayer composed specifically for Europe. Referring to his European origin, he maneuvered himself into the position of a kind of "link"--"a Slavic link for Latinists, a Latin link for Slavs."

The evangelization project which, as John Paul II envisions it, lays claim to every individual and all nations, overlooks or refuses to take due notice of today's political realities and the real worldview situation in Europe, marked by rather farreaching secularizing tendencies and by the growth of irreligiousness or atheism among the population. The foremost functionary of the World Council of Churches, W. A. Visser't Hooft, wrote that European churches are facing a situation that renders it impossible for any of them "to claim still that it represents the wishes and convictions of the whole nation."

The concept of "a Christian Europe" not only refuses to take into account European realities as shaped by the process of the defeat of fascism and the emergence of a socialist society, it wants--in contradiction to the resolutions of the Helsinki agreement--to change them.

Thus, it would be politically shortsighted--as the responsible party agencies in the USSR and in our country emphasized--to underestimate in any way the Vatican's aforementioned concept of the future of Europe. The legend of its evangelization is linked with the Vatican's modified "eastern policy," as it is practiced by the present pope, John Paul II. This policy tries its utmost "to strengthen political clericalism in socialist countries" and by means of differential access it seeks to create and enlarge points of friction between these countries; it wants to sow suspicion among them, especially in their relationship to the Soviet Union.

One can judge the true meaning of the Vatican's open effort to create "a Christian Europe" from the Atlantic to the Urals by, among other things, the clerical and political circles which support it or identify themselves with it in one way or another.

Testimony to this is given, for instance, by a document issued by the British Bishops' Conference on the occasion of the proclamation of Cyril and Methodius as "co-patrons of Europe." The Catholics of Great Britain are invited in it to pray for "a broader concept of European unity." "Our common search for true human values should lead the Europeans of the West and of the East to Jesus Christ and his gospel." In the proclamation of the British bishops, the alleged "persistence and courage" of Christians in Eastern Europe who supposedly live "in appalling conditions" is being accentuated for propaganda purposes.

That the idea of "a Christian Europe" fits into the plans of anticommunism was shown particularly well by the critical events in the Polish People's Republic when, especially after the proclamation of martial law, the bourgeois propaganda revived the so-called "Yalta issue." The meaning of this campaign, roused at the initiation of the Reagan administration, consisted in an effort to achieve "an internationalization of the Polish question; and thus an artificially created problem was used as a pretext for imperialist interference in the internal affairs of the Polish People's Republic."

The attempts to "revise" the Yalta agreement of February 1945 are a part of a farreaching strategic plan by the United States, aimed at weakening socialism on the European continent, where socialism has its strongest positions. "Then the way would be open to weakening progressive and democratic forces in Asia, Africa and Latin America." "Revision" of the Yalta agreement would of necessity lead to nonrecognition of the validity of the agreements of the Potsdam Conference and would cast doubts on the UN Charter. "It would also mean that doubts would be cast on the borders of Czechoslovakia and Poland, that no account would be taken of the enormous sacrifices of European nations--above all of the people of the Soviet Union--through which it was possible to defeat fascism and on its ruins to lay the foundations of a new, democratic order in Europe."

It is necessary to add that the Vatican, too, joined this campaign, based on basting doubts on the Yalta agreement, in its own way. What else could possibly be meant by the statements of the highest representatives of the Catholic Church and the Vatican state (made on 16 January 1982 before the diplomatic corps accredited to the Vatican) attacking "agreements on the division of the world into spheres of influence" which militate "against the nations' right to self-determination and limit their sovereignty"? What the pope did not say openly the Kathpress agency supplemented in a news item of 18 February 1982. According to this Catholic information source, Pope John Paul II demanded--without saying so directly--the annulment of the agreements made at Yalta. It is clear as daylight that from here it is just a small step to doubting the validity of the Potsdam agreement and the subsequent treaties between the Polish People's Republic and the CSSR on one side and the GDR on the other side, in which the borders on the Oder and the Neisse were established and the Munich agreement nullified.

The evangelization of Europe appears to be an important tool in the ideological and political interference by the Vatican and the church. The concept of "Euro-Christianity" cannot be isolated from such phenomena as the Vatican's attempt to legalize antistate forces in socialist states, its effort to paralyze the activity of Catholic clergy who express support for socialist development and to activate at the same time clergy and laity under the slogan of a fight for "religious liberty," open sympathy for dissidents from socialist countries, and the like.

Thus evangelism, as the Roman Catholic Church understands it, cannot be viewed as a purely pastoral question; it is necessary to see it in the larger context of a running offensive of the most reactionary forces of world

imperialism whose goal it is to cast socialism on the "trash heap of history." When these forces organize various assaults on or "crusade" against socialism and everything that represents social progress, they also count on a relatively large contingent of clergy-regulated Christian churches and organizations in the effort to change religious faith into a factor of anticommunism.

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CSO: 2400/11

STATE SCHOLARSHIPS FOR COLLEGE STUDENTS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Sep 84 p 5

[Text] With the beginning of the new school year there came into effect the decree of the Ministry of Education of the CSR No 83/1984, SBIRKA ZAKONU, concerning the awarding of scholarships and grants to students at schools of higher learning.

For some time now there has been debate about the fact that scholarship regulations up until now have been measuring mediocrity rather than stimulating students to attain better grades. In order for a student to obtain the prescribed 2.5 average, he did not as a rule have to exert great effort. The new cutoff point is for this reason an average success rate of up to 1.8, so that the most successful students are the most advantaged. (With an average of up to 1.2 there is a merit scholarship of Kcs 500 per month, up to 1.5 Kcs 350 and up to 1.8 Kcs 200).

Among the group of prime study areas these amounts are Kcs 50 higher--in addition, there are one-time awards amounting to Kcs 1000 upon the successful completion of each year of high school. This is another significant factor, which makes it possible to provide qualified specialists in those areas where our society needs them most.

Naturally, we have not forgotten the awarding of social scholarships, with which our socialist society creates the necessary financial reserve for those who find themselves, for example, in unexpected family difficulties, and things of a similar nature. Consequently, the social scholarship became a pledge without regard to grades.

The social decree No 84/1984, SBIRKA ZAKONU of the Ministry of Education of the CSR, the Ministry of Health of the CSR, and the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs of the CSR determines the awarding of scholarships and material pledges to students, high schools, and secondary professional schools. This also came into effect on 1 September of this year.

12313

CSO: 2400/5

CATHOLIC COLLOQUIUM IN PRAGUE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Sep 84 p 2

[Text] The realization of the goal of world peace and an attestation to the faith of a secularized society is the theme of the 3-day international theological colloquium of the Berlin Convention of European Catholics (BK), which commenced on Monday in Prague. The host of the meeting is the association of Catholic clergymen, Pacem in terris, of the CSSR.

In the welcoming address to the 50 theologians from 30 countries of eastern and western Europe, the president of the presidium of the BK, Otto Hardtmuth Fuchs, stated that the conference provides an exceptional opportunity for extending and strengthening a credible Christian peace ministry for the preservation of an endangered world.

Edvard Schillebeeckx, ThDr, from Nijmegen (Holland) delivered the main speech. The general secretary of the Christian peace conference, ThDr Lubomir Mirejovsky, also gave a welcoming address.

In plenary sessions and in workshops the participants in the colloquium will continue to discuss the ways and means for Catholic Christians, in their mutual responsibility, to step up their efforts and activities in the struggle for peace and disarmament.

12313

CSO: 2400/5

POZSGAY LISTS, DESCRIBES TIES WITH WESTERN POLITICAL PARTIES

Budapest KULPOLITIKA in Hungarian No 3, 1984 pp 71-80

[Article by Imre Pozsgay: "The Role of Social Organizations in East-West Cooperation"]

[Text] Our point of departure agrees with the fundamental principles of the state's foreign policy. Through its national interests and by virtue of its domestic social system Hungary is connected to the socialist countries. Cooperating with the defense system and economic community of its allies produces its security and economic progress. At the same time it stands ready to welcome the initiative of whatever country of the world for the expansion of relations and the improvement of cooperation, if this arises from goodwill, serves the cause of international security, and is mutually beneficial for the participants. This is nothing other than the policy of peaceful coexistence, which cannot sink into oblivion even at a time when it is precisely the rise in tensions and not relaxation that dominates.

The above-mentioned fundamental principles of the foreign policy of the state and government also form part of the social consensus in our country. Hungarian citizens will give a vote of confidence only to a Hungarian government that pursues a policy of peace. It is not therefore a question of the people tolerating and acquiescing in its foreign policy, but precisely of the government's shaping its foreign policy according to the needs of the people.

Why was it necessary to mention all this in advance? Because everyone who enters into relations with us must see that the international activity of the social organizations does not polemicize with the foreign policy either of the state in general or of the government, for the simple reason that the general social consensus also extends to this area as a matter of principle.

The general consensus is made operational by effective social and political organizations created by the people. The "civil" society existing outside the institutions of the state also utilizes these organizations as instruments in the relations of state and citizen in the international arena. This does not mean that these organizations monopolize international relations to the exclusion of the individual. Anyone familiar with our country well knows that human rights are respected in Hungary and individually as well people may at their own discretion travel in the world and communicate with their fellow human beings

living at any point on the Earth whatever. The 20th century, however, which has created a high degree of division of labor and cooperation in activities never seen before and with it a similarly high level of organization, has brought with it the necessity for individuals to come together in influential organizations even in the sphere outside the state. With the help of these they may collectively supervise the state, assert their interests, and inter alia act with great effectiveness even in international relations.

Only in this way is it possible to understand the significant role that these social organizations are filling in the building of East-West relations. Before I address this role, however, it is also necessary to speak about what relations with the West signify for us. Even the title of this essay already suggests that I ascribe a positive content to East-West relations, that I hold them to be a value to protect and improve. Despite their differing social arrangements various countries may open up rich store-houses of experiences for each other. The exchange of experiences, contact with the multitude of human beings, and the multiplication of intermingling threads among persons with the help of social organizations uncovers further possibilities for technological-scientific progress, economic growth, and political and cultural cooperation. Our country is ranked among the small countries. They know this in the social organizations. But they also know that in today's tenser and complicated world the significance of small countries has grown considerably. They have become important factors of international stability. Small countries solving their domestic problems by common consent and to the general satisfaction and with their own house in good order have a beneficial impact on the world situation. Internally unstable small countries experiencing often serious tensions and shocks create crisis-points and bring tensions and instability into the world as well. In awareness of this Hungary is taking on a role in international life, in East-West relations, and social organizations and movements in Hungary are also assuming an international role with this kind of view.

The social organizations of our country operate over a broad range of human relations. Their political and interest representation functions satisfy the most varied needs, and these interests and needs also motivate them in international life. But in this regard--whether it be a matter of the trade unions, or the youth association, or the people's front--each one accepts as the point of departure the policy of peaceful coexistence, the rejection of imperialistic intentions that increase tension through an arms race, and accepts the policy of maintaining and improving relations even at a time when circumstances are increasing the danger of war. After a sketch of these common features in the international work of the people's front I would like to evaluate the role of these organizations in the improvement of East-West relations.

Among the socio-political functions of the Patriotic People's Front international relations are very important. The people's front takes part in the practice and strengthening of the foreign policy of the country as the possibilities of a movement create it. Presently the Patriotic People's Front has direct collaborative agreements with 67 different movements and parties in the world. Among these the most important is the cooperation pursued with similar movements of the socialist countries. The importance of this is to a great extent influenced by what kind of significance the given movement has in its own country.

If this is considerable then our relations with it are also of great significance. If not, then our relations too are of minor importance in the relationship. The preferred and first-rank relations primarily tie us to the similar people's front movements of the socialist countries.

The second largest domain of this system of relationships is the relation with new or older movements fighting for the independence of the developing countries or building their nations. A large part of our activity of solidarity is also directed to this area.

The third large province of the system of relations is the relations linked to the diverse parties and movements of the developed capitalist countries. There are historical traditions to our relations with political institutions of the developed capitalist countries; only we cannot always follow the historical changes. When one or the other of these came into existence 20-25-30 years ago it may be that the movement in question played a role in its own country, but today it is scarcely remembered while we still register it as an important partner. Therefore there is a need for greater dynamism here.

We must contribute to the thwarting of attacks that have been made against peaceful coexistence and detente. It must be understood that detente may again be created by collaboration with the forces of socialism, peace and social progress, by unified action, by comprehensive joint social actions. The people's front is taking part in the struggle waged for the continuation of East-West cooperation, for disarmament, for strategic arms limitations.

Cooperation, dialogue, joint action with progressive parties, including medium and small-sized parties and people's front-type organizations of the capitalist countries, will continue to be an important task from the viewpoint of improving East-West relations. The people's front is participating in initiatives serving the cause of peace and security in Europe, and in the struggle going on to effect a European disarmament conference. It is taking part in informational activity realistically introducing our country and our socialist system in the West, in the strengthening of confidence in socialist theory and practice. The Patriotic People's Front strives for cooperation with various parties and movements of the Western countries (with socialist, social democratic, bourgeois liberal, centrist and progressive Christian parties, organizations and movements, with recognized public personalities, etc.) which or who, following a policy of the peaceful coexistence or countries with different social systems, are working for the consolidation of international security and cooperation, of detente and peace, and are ready to maintain relations with us.

By the end of the 70's relations had widened between the Patriotic People's Front and progressive parties, movements, and personalities operating in Western countries, primarily Western Europe, and representing different political lines. Their basis was dialogue, the promoting of long-term peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, cooperation with progressive social forces for the protection of European security and for the practical implementation of the fundamental principles stated in the Helsinki Final Document. In recent years phenomena poisoning the international atmosphere, the sudden halt to the detente process, the rise in the tensions of political life, the speeding up of the arms race, the efforts of the United

States aimed at acquiring military superiority, have had an unfavorable impact on the further improvement of relations.

Among certain of our West European partners a holding back, a cautiousness, is perceptible; they would like to restrict lively and multi-faceted dialogue only to questions that they deem important for them. Certain parties keep putting off the resumption of relations. At the same time relations afford possibilities for a useful exchange of ideas by our delegations about the most important problems of international life, the possibilities of easing the strains of the European situation, the restoration of international security and confidence, and the protection of the achievements of detente. Since these same problems occupy the attention of the people of Europe, parties taking this into consideration do not renounce continued cooperation with us.

These West European parties wish to continue cooperation with the Patriotic People's Front. A continued heightened interest is observable on their part in the life of our country, the policy of the MSZMP, the experiences we have acquired in the building of socialism, the domestic and foreign policy activity of the Hungarian People's Republic, the standpoint we have adopted in connection with diverse questions of European security and cooperation, the role and activity of the Patriotic People's Front, and the system of institutions of social policy. In the recent period they have devoted especially great attention to two issues. The one is the improvement of the management of the economy, the other is the new election law.

Presently we have relations with two Western European organizations similar to--in many ways, however, differing from--the HNF (Patriotic People's Front). One is the Portuguese Democratic Movement, the other is the Finnish People's Democratic League. In the past 3 years cooperation with the Portuguese Democratic Movement has aimed at the recognition of concrete themes, whose experiences they can best utilize in their own activity (for example, the achievements of the Hungarian agricultural cooperative movement). In response to a request from our partner, and jointly with the National Council of Producer's Cooperatives, we sent a delegation composed of agricultural specialists to Portugal in 1982, and we hosted a study delegation from our Portuguese partner.

We have had systematic and continuous relations with the Finnish organization for several decades; representatives of the HNF and the FNDSZ (Finnish People's Democratic League) cooperate closely in nurturing the traditional Finnish-Hungarian relationship. Of noted significance within this is the Hungarian-Finnish Friendship Week arranged every 3 years, in the organization of which every significant Finnish party participates.

In past years the People's Patriotic Front has continued its cooperation and striven for the further expansion of relations with Western European parties of a socialist or social democratic character, which in many cases influence the formation of the foreign and domestic policy line of their countries as decisive governmental forces and have a noteworthy influence on public opinion as well. In past years we have established cooperation with the Greek Panhellenic Socialist Movement, the Italian Republican Party, the Danish

Radical Left Party, the Dutch Radical Party, the Dutch so-called Democrats-1966, and the French Left Radical Movement.

At conferences these parties approach European problems positively and from time to time they are ready to seek the possibility of joint action on questions directly affecting Europe. Their delegates generally represent a more positive standpoint than their governments in exchanges of ideas, for example, in the sphere of topics of the Madrid conference on European security and cooperation, the discussion on European troop reductions, the establishment of an atom-free Europe, etc.

The Patriotic People's Front has maintained relations with some liberal and centrist parties as well. The Finnish Center Party, the Finnish Liberal People's Party, the Swedish People's Party, and the Japanese Komei Party are of this sort. These parties have influence among the middle strata, the liberal bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, and occasionally the small and medium farm holders.

According to our observations these parties evince moderate, in many important questions understanding, behavior toward the socialist countries and they are ready to cooperate in the creation of mutual security and in the endorsement of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

These parties have a role in the determination of the official domestic and foreign policy of the given country and thus the consolidation of our relations with them is important.

In the recent period noteworthy relations have been created with the Austrian People's Party, the Italian Christian Democratic Party, and the Flemish Social Christian Party and Walloon Social Christian Party. These parties set a high value on the fact that both in our country and abroad well-known nonparty personalities, church leaders and people with a religious world-view who are in public service are taking an active role in the work of the HNF.

The strengthening of our cooperation with these parties serves the cause of the struggle that is being waged for European security and cooperation, and contributes to the continuation of East-West dialogue.

The international relations of the Patriotic People's Front play a useful role in the realization of the foreign policy goals of the Hungarian People's Republic; they support from the social side the policy of our government and the efforts that have been made for the consolidation of peace and security. The HNF has taken a significant part in popularizing the achievements of socialist society abroad and in increasing respect for our country.

The strained international situation makes it even more necessary than before that we broaden cooperation with noncommunist, sober-thinking forces operating in Western countries. The increased number of tasks demand that we enrich the content of relations, work out methods that take the standpoint of the partners into consideration, and compile persuasive materials for argument. We expect all this from those who have relations with us.

During the course of cooperation the positive experiences of delegations visiting our country have contributed to the lessening of distrust toward the socialist countries, increasing the international prestige of our country, popularizing the experiences we have acquired in the building of socialism, and mobilizing action units of the humanist, peace-loving forces.

Austria

Austrian People's Party

Successor of the Catholic Christian Social Party founded in 1877. Formed in 1945, the number of members--according to figures from the leadership--is 600-700,000. It consists of three autonomous federations: the economic (this embraces mainly the entrepreneurs), the federation of workers and employees, and the peasant federation. Its mass base is the Catholic petty bourgeois and peasant strata; however, it represents the interests primarily of the big bourgeoisie and the great landowners. Since 1966 it has been in an opposition position.

Belgium

Flemish Social Christian Party-Walloon Social Christian Party

Formed in 1945 as the successor to the Catholic Party that had been in existence since 1830. Since 1884 it has played a leading role in the governing of the country, emerging with a relative majority from every election held between 1919 and 1977. Among its members are representatives of big capital, the religious small and medium bourgeoisie with monarchist sentiments, employees and part of the working class as well. Its influence is strong primarily among the Flemish population. The Catholic peasant and trade union movements with a significant number of members, the Peasant Federation as well as the Federation of Christian Trade Unions with more than 1 million members, fall under the influence of the party; the party maintains close relations with Catholic federations, charitable associations, and the middle-class employers' federation. The party was reorganized in 1945, founded on strong local organizations. At the time of the flaring up of the language dispute it practically split into two parties, and these regularly hold independent congresses. In the higher organization of the party both language communities have equal representation, and the party is led by two presidents (Flemish and Walloon). The number of its members is nearly 300,000.

Denmark

Radical Liberal Party

Founded in 1905. From its very formation it has fought for Danish neutrality. This neutrality policy has no special significance today (Denmark is a NATO member); in domestic relations, however, the party has always opposed an increase in the military budget and increased participation in NATO plans, while on the international plane it stands resolutely for disarmament, for arms reductions and for detente. The Radical Party is also fighting for the kind of

domestic reforms that envisage a significant alteration in the present Danish social structure. Even today the Radical Party plays a relatively significant role in Danish political life.

Finland

Finnish People's Democratic League (SKDL)

Formed in October 1944. It also comprises the framework of the party and the mass organization. At that time several Social Democratic organizations, whose base organizations are operational (ca. 57,000 members), also joined the SKDL.

Beyond individual membership, organizations also participate in the SKDL (Democratic Federation of Finnish Women, Finnish Democratic Youth Federation, Federation of Socialist Students). At the time of its formation the Socialist Unity Party also joined the SKDL, but later the party disintegrated and its members joined individually.

Center Party

Finland's largest party relative to its membership size and the number of its organizations (ca. 280,000) members. In the past the party--formerly as the Agrarian Party--strove to aggregate exclusively the agrarian population (landowners, tenants, landless peasantry). Since 1950 it has also made great efforts to win the strata of the population not engaged in agriculture. In 1965 it came time for a change in the name of the party, and the party was transformed in accordance with its new name into a center party. Today it is characteristic that the party will more and more be the party of the so-to-say centrist-thinking urban and rural intelligentsia, civil servants, and employees who still stand far from the left.

France

Republican Party

It appeared in 1962 as a tendency, and was formed as a political party in 1966. Its mass base is the stratum of large employers and part of the intelligentsia. Since its establishment it has participated in the government. It achieved its greatest success when its president Giscard d'Estaing was elected President of the Republic in 1974.

Left Radical Movement

Formed in 1972 by politicians dissatisfied with the Radical Party's turn to the right. The party adhered to the common government program signed by the left in June 1972. In the most recent elections it ran together with the French Socialist Party. It represents a progressive standpoint in present French political life.

Greece

PASOK (Panhellenic Socialist Movement)

Formed in September 1974 by the union of two anti-dictatorship organizations, the so-called Democratic Defense and the Panhellenic Liberation Movement formed in emigration by Andreas Papandreou. Its social base is primarily the intelligentsia and part of the urban middle classes. Its program and agitation are radical, its demands include: the nationalization of church property, the financial system and the basic units of production; the establishment of agricultural cooperatives; the separation of church and state; the socialization of private education and health service; national independence; the elimination of foreign military bases on the territory of Greece, and a review of NATO relations and membership in the Common Market. PASOK emerged victorious from the general elections held in 1981.

New Democracy

Formed in September 1974 on the basis of the National Radical Union representing big capitalist and great landowner interests, which had been outlawed by the military dictatorship in 1967.

The party was reorganized by Konstantin Karamanlis, who was a former leader of the National Radical Union. The party's proclaimed goal is the creation of a "viable democratic order," and the introduction of economic, political and social reforms. In the name of national unity it rejects the division of public political opinion into a right and left as well as center.

The party was brought great success by the fact that its leader, heading a temporary government, restored civil rights, that criminals of the military dictatorship were arrested, and that Greece withdrew from the military organization of NATO.

Netherlands

Political Radical Party (PPR)

A small party, which basically aggregates members of the intelligentsia with a religious outlook. One of the essential points of its foreign policy program is the strengthening of East-West relations, and in this regard it takes the initiative in acting toward the socialist countries.

Federal Republic of Germany

Free Democratic Party (FDP)

It came into existence in 1948 out of the union of several parties; the number of its members is ca. 80,000. It represents the interests of small and medium employers, white-collar workers and part of the peasants. Until 1969 it took part in the coalition government on the side of the CDU/CSU. After 1969 it was the partner of the Social Democratic Party in a coalition government. Presently it is again a member of the CDU/CSU coalition.

Italy

Italian Socialist Party

Formed in 1982 as the first among the modern political parties still playing a significant role in Italian political life today. Until 1956--incurring a split and exclusion from the Italian government as well as from the Socialist International--it ran with the Communist Party. After 1956 on the other hand it increasingly took the standpoint that a workers' movement "incorporated" into the management of the society and the state may be an important instrument of the renewal of Italy. Its rapprochement with the Christian Democratic Party and its entrance into the government provoked a new split: in 1964 the party's left wing seceded and the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity was formed; this was dissolved in 1972, so that 70 percent of its membership joined the IRP (Italian Republican Party). The social base of the Socialist Party is ca. one-third workers, one-third peasants, and one-third intelligentsia and civil servants. According to the program it formulated after the world war the party is a Marxist class organization, which however wants to reach socialism by a "democratic road." Presently this party provides the head of the government.

Italian Republican Party

Formed in 1822. Today it aggregates part of the medium and small bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia.

After the fall of Italian fascism the party started to function again and its members participated in armed opposition. It follows an anti-fascist line in its domestic policy, an Atlanticist line in its foreign policy. Since 1963 it has repeatedly participated in governments under Christian Democratic leadership.

Portugal

MDP/CDE (Portuguese Democratic Movement-Democratic Electoral Commission)

Formed in 1976. Its social base is the progressive intelligentsia and the peasantry, and for this reason the most important area of its activity is the organization of the cooperative movement in Portugal. The party is actively fighting against Common Market membership.

It maintains close relations with the Portuguese Communist Party, and it opposes the political line that is sliding to the right. It has proposed that the progressive left-wing forces must jointly defend the achievements of the revolutionary process.

Turkey

Republican People's Party

Formed in 1919, its social base is small property owners, the white collar stratum and the intelligentsia. The situation of the party became stronger in

the 1970's; instrumental in this was the fact that it entered upon a campaign for the restriction of foreign capital, the strengthening of the state sector, oversight over big capital, the protection of the rights of workers and youths and the implementation of land reform.

Japan

Komei Party (Clean Government Party)

Formed in 1964 as Japan's first religious party. Its mass base is composed of unorganized workers and the urban small and medium bourgeoisie. It proclaims the concept of "middle of the road humane socialism," which camouflages a program positioned to the right of social democratic reformism. In its foreign policy it strives to build relations on the basis of the norms of peaceful coexistence. It advocates Japan's active neutrality and peace policy. It urges the complete prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons. It holds the "rival superpowers" responsible for the exacerbation of the arms race and emphasizes the importance of the soonest possible start of negotiations.

Beyond the parties listed and introduced rather as examples we regard as extremely important those ever-proliferating occasions when in the spirit of East-West dialogue we can host personalities playing an outstanding role in our country and the world. We also judge of similar importance those events when we may welcome as guests representatives of organizations and associations that do not perform a direct political function.

Social organizations and movements in Hungary are continuing activity similar to that of the Patriotic People's Front to preserve and extend the values of East-West cooperation.

8971

CSO: 2500/586

HUNGARY

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DISCUSSES WORKERS' TRAINING

LD030956 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 2 Oct 84

[Text] Industry is asking for a greater role in the training of skilled workers, because at present neither the ministry nor its enterprises have a say in the methods of training skilled workers. Several members of the National Assembly's Industrial Committee held this opinion at the session today, at which Industry Minister Laszlo Kapolyi informed them about the replenishment of workers.

Laszlo Kovacs, deputy from County Pest, pointed out that the Ministry of Industry should take over the specialized secondary schools which provide training for technicians. Karoly Herczeg, deputy from County Borsod, said, conveying the opinion of the leaderships of several industrial trade unions: Industry has no influence on training quotas. Jozsef Tollar, deputy from County Zala, added that the present method does not take into account the development goals of a given sphere or industrial branch.

Mrs Laszlo Rujsz, deputy from Country Vas, said she would consider it just if an enterprise which did not accept part of the burden entailed in practical training were not able to acquire skilled workers. Imre Antal, deputy from County Pest, also supported this. He proposed that an enterprise which provides training should receive the cost of schooling for the recently graduated skilled worker if he goes elsewhere. Mr Istvan Bakos, deputy head of department, representing the Ministry of Culture and Education, said that according to the educational development program, the Ministry of Industry will have the task of determining the professional requirements of training skilled workers. However, she did not agree that practical training should be strengthened to the detriment of general knowledge subjects.

CSO: 2500/46

HUNGARY

MAGYAR NEMZET INTERVIEW ON CORRUPTION

AU051828 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 3 Oct 84 p 5

[Interview given by Dr Lajos Szamel, university professor, to Istvan Javornicsky:
"The Essence: the Responsibility of the Leaders--Dr Lajos Szamel on Corruption and Taking a Stand Against It"]

[Excerpts] [Javornicsky] One often feels that there are some differences between legally permitted and accepted, developed behavior in social practice. Is it worth punishing or at least threatening ways of behaving that are so widespread. In other words: where should one draw the line with corruption?

[Szamel] The main problem and the biggest danger of corruption is that those with a lot of money get in front of those with less income. Corruption tremendously increases the already existing social inequalities, because it is not those who live on incomes which just cover the cost of existing that can pay the large sums, but those possessing a mammoth income. Whoever builds in the Buda Hills without a licence, will pay the fines, and will even add something for the official because from the very beginning he also counted this in the expenses.

[Javornicsky] I believe the possibilities of more severe punishment are meagre indeed. We read about corrupt managers being executed in other countries. But I do not think we, too, should follow this solution.

[Szamel] By no means. I believe the best way of making punishment more severe is to increase financial punishment, because from the start these crimes are perpetrated for material advantages. Many people would be stopped from doing this by the fear that they might lose everything if they got involved in corruption.

[Javorniczky] Your statement that shortages do not necessarily lead to corruption opens up debates.

[Szamel] The shortage is often artificially made. You probably remember the case of the artificial fur shop in the center of town, its employees deliberately hiding the goods and thus causing a situation in which, although there is not too great a demand for artificial fur, the small demand could not be fulfilled in an honest way, either.

Besides, history has already produced examples of the fact that morality considerably eases the tensions caused by shortages, and the people accept that the requirements cannot be fulfilled immediately and fully.

[Javorniczky] Among those in possession of decisionmaking possibilities, direct corruption is very rare. It is replaced instead by favoritism, by mutual recompense.

[Szamel] This definitely cannot be traced. One can smell it rather than see it. You give me a plot, I give you bricks, wood, at discount prices. You make a telephone call to help my son's business, and I make a telephone call when your relative is preparing for university.

CSO: 2500/46

HUNGARY

MSZMP'S CULTURAL POLICY

Aczel's Appeal

LD061026 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 5 Oct 84

[No video available]

[Excerpt] The debate on cultural life, the situation and problems of public culture, and the tasks and possibilities, which started yesterday, continued in Parliament today. After the interval Politburo member Gyorgy Aczel rose to speak. We quote from his speech:

[Begin Aczel recording] The country's good renown is such as it has never been before in its history, but it is not a once and for all affair. It has to respond day by day and this is connected with the knowledge which this country's people have gained for themselves. It is also necessary that there should be in this country people capable of finding their way around in biology, physics, chemistry, literature, painting, in song, and in politics, in all the issues of society. We also have learned that there is no efficient economy without educated human minds, and primarily, there is no socialist economy and there is no socialist society without educated minds.

My dear friends, much has been said here about democracy. Let me also speak about it--I should like to highlight a single part of it: democracy is not a gift to the people, nor does it arise by itself. But in our circumstances it is the unconditional command of the time and of society. Hungarian agriculture would not now be a world leader if there was no producers' cooperative democracy. And it is not circumstantial that we want to take this further--toward the plants, the factories, the institutions, and the entire country. One of the extremely important tools of efficient production, together with other things, is the workshop, workplace democracy, in which it is necessary to advance, and we are doing so. However, there is no democracy without a people having greater knowledge, and in the meantime we have developed a different kind of intelligentsia--an intelligentsia which is no longer 90 percent middle class, which has sunk to a lower class from the gentry [preceding work spoken in English], but one whose brother or sister, father or mother is a worker or a peasant. More than 70 percent of Hungarian families are mixed, that is, they contain workers and peasants, and

intellectuals. Well, this is a different kind of intelligentsia. It is looking for its place. And this intelligentsia is looking for its sense of calling. That is why we have public culture, that these two, for example, might meet each other. It is no coincidence that results are found where these things find one another. Our public culture is of average development, but this public culture is not only an aesthetic culture--it is not only about gardening. It also involves the ability to greet each other properly, to address each other properly.

The issue of entertainment has come up. Please note: together with bread--since we have bread--this has become a biological need for people. But this does not mean they want garbage; rather that they should be entertained, that their attention should be absorbed. So, who said we should give them garbage? Ady, Babits, Dante--Everyone has tried to develop our national culture at the same time as merging and integrating within ourselves every value of universal culture. [sentence as heard] Well, this is not a question of exclusion; these two things have to be done together: that which humanity has up till now created of value and is now creating, humane values worthy of a socialist country. It is the first society which not only has the ability but also the duty to pass this on to hundreds of thousands and millions of people. [end recording]

Gyorgy Aczel highlighted the need to make technical culture, aesthetic culture, and political culture more full. He spoke about the nation's self-confidence, about internationalism, and also about nationalism.

[Being Aczel recording] My dear friends, I believe that you have determined the tasks quite well. I also agree that there is definitely a need for better material help; yes, to pay economically for the more thrifty management, to teach the state farms, the cooperatives, the plants that support of culture is in their interest, to find those enthusiasts who can do this.

Everybody, friend and foe, looks for faults in this socialism of ours. And it is not a bad thing that we should look for them ourselves. But, please, while we make sharp incisions without anaesthetics where that is necessary, think also of this: that mankind has no other hope, no fulfillable hope, but this stumbling socialism which is built amid difficulties. This socialism also has as its objective to make people's lives more beautiful, richer. So I think that you should undertake this, and through you the 19,000 public educators, public education workers, the party, the state, the People's Front, the National Council of Trade Unions, the Communist Youth League, the 100,000 teachers, the 10,000 doctors, agronomists, clever workers, cultured peasants, should undertake jointly to try to help the economy, and indirectly and directly to help culture. I would like to wish you more happiness for this than before and hopefully better working conditions. Thank you very much. [end recording]

The 2-day public education consultation ended with a closing speech by Bela Kpeczi, minister of culture and education.

Excerpts from NEPSZABADSAG

LD212314 Budapest MTI in English 1705 GMT 21 Oct 84

[Text] Budapest, 20 Oct (MTI)--Saturday's NEPSZABADSAG carries excerpts from a position taken by the culture policy work-group subordinated to the HSWP-CC under the title "On Topical Issues of the Arts Policy of HSWP". The party's central daily notes that the document, issued in September 1984, is published with the consent of the HSWP Political Committee.

Some important conclusions of the position are cited here below:

"...The purposes, principles and principal methods of the HSWP's arts policy were determined by the culture policy guidelines of the Central Committee in 1958. The guidelines declared that although the policy, which represented the historical interests of the party and the people, was interested and competent in forming the views and taste of people, and in providing favorable conditions for artistic creative, it did not intend to interfere in the process of artistic creation in a short-sighted manner, or want to fix obligatory aesthetical norms and attitudes, or consider it its duty to decide debates on style with authoritative means. These principles as well as the methods of cultural direction, first of all the differentiated promotion of works of art on the basis of their value, the enhancing of the influence of Marxism-Leninism by means of conviction and ideological debates, are still valid. The changed conditions and the new requirements, however, render it necessary to reinterpret and reinforce the time-honored principles, and determine practical tasks stemming from new social demands for arts...."

"...Our arts policy is supposed to consider the new and changing features of arts and the arts community. Contemporary Hungarian fine and performing arts are marked by a diversity of ideas and styles. This diversity partly reflects social processes, partly stems from external effects on society, and party derives from the relatively autonomous processes of the development of art...."

"...The best works of art are permeated by concern over the future of peace, protest against inhumanity, and individual and communal defenselessness, efforts to explore the current problems, pleasures, and emotional conflicts of the individual, to examine Hungarian reality in a committed, sensible, and often documentarist manner, and to analyze the past in a responsible way, furthermore, they are imbued with the passionate need of protecting, strengthening and renewing the socialist scale of values, moral and democracy. However, the number of such works is lagging behind social requirements and the demands of the public...."

Following a detailed survey of achievements, the document discusses shortcomings and calls attention to tasks. It states:

"...To strengthen the positions of Marxism-Leninism in all fields of arts life and criticism is an important task of the party's arts policy. However,

the hegemony of Marxism is not a state established institutionally once and for all, but should be achieved through continuous ideological struggle. The variety of ideas and styles may only become a genuine asset, and an incentive to the abundance of the ideas and forms of art, if the expression on a high artistic level of humanist, mainly socialist values becomes the principal measure of modernity, if the valuable works born in the spirit of ideas expressing humanity and social progress play a dominant part in the colorful arts life, and gain the wide attention and publicity, as well as the support of leadership, artistic public life, criticism and the public.

"To achieve success in the struggle for strengthening the positions of Marxism requires first of all sensitivity to and the answering of new questions, and the consistent enforcement of the party's policy of alliances...against against the essential interests of society, hostile attitude against our social system, and indifference toward the causes of mankind are incompatible with the policy of alliances and the inherent interests of art...."

"...The consistent representation and enforcement of our time-honored arts policy principles raise new demand for the practice of arts policy. Efforts to strengthen ideological work, to fight off the symptoms of ideological disorientation, to correct disturbances in arts public life, and the work of cultural institutions and workshops, to deepen relation between art and society, and between art and public, to assume greater scope for the articulation of the needs of the public, and to differentiate by value should be given a greater emphasis in the work of directing organizations, arts associations and cultural workshops (film studios, theaters, publishers, periodicals, etc)...."

"...The party should be given a greater room to offer orientation for the artists, which depends on a better and more consistent direction, and the unity, initiating skill, active stand for the party's policy and debating spirit of communists in artistic public life, cultural institutions and workshops...."

"...Party organizations and communists working in cultural life should hold it their priority task to enforce the party's policy of alliances. Relying upon the experiences of political consensus achieved through serious effort with artist-intellectuals in the post-1956 consolidation period, the basis of the policy of alliances should be renewed and widened in arts life. Particular attention should be given to the target that this alliance should also be created with the younger generation of artists having less historical experience and possibility for comparison. Older party member artists, universities and colleges, the Hungarian Communist Youth Union and young communists have the greatest tasks in achieving that target...."

"...The financial support of artistic creation, cultural education and consumption remains an essential social policy interest even if the load-bearing capacity of national economy and efficiency are considered. The present structure, and the ways and means of distribution of financial means should be reassessed in the light of our cultural targets, including the possibility of a differentiated increase...."

"...The work of party, state and council organizations involved in cultural direction should be improved, their ideological and political susceptibility, professional skill and information enhanced, and their united position on essential issues ensured. Direction should be more initiative and active... the members of state direction, leaders of the Ministry of Culture and Education, councils, and cultural workshops, should take a more unambiguous stand against hostile endeavors and phenomena...."

CSO: 2500/46

HUNGARY

BRIEFS

FOREIGN MINISTER VARKONYI AT UNGA--Budapest, 7 Oct (MTI)--Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi returned to Budapest from New York Sunday. He headed the Hungarian delegation at the 39th session of the United Nations General Assembly. At Budapest airport Peter Varkonyi was welcomed by one of his deputies, Ferenc Esztergalyos. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 7 Oct 84 LD]

NEW ENVOY TO CANADA--Lajos Nagy, Hungary's new ambassador in Ottawa, presented his credentials to Mrs Jeanne Sauve, governor general of Canada, on 2 October. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Oct 84 p 8 AU]

SOCIALIST ENVIRONMENTAL CONFERENCE--Budapest, 12 Oct (MTI)--The environmental protection conference of the military-health services of the friendly socialist countries was held in Hungary last week. The participants discussed timely issues of environmental protection, also studied measures passed in Hungary in the field, and their implementation. They agreed to further extend and develop cooperation. The delegations left Hungary Friday. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1740 GMT 12 Oct 84 LD]

CSSR PARTY WORKERS VISIT--A CSSR party workers delegation led by Vaclav Sysel, deputy head of the Department of Industrial, Transportation and Construction industry services of the CPCZ Central Committee, visited Hungary from 1 to 5 October at the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee. The CSSR guests studied the issues of party and state guidance of transportation and postal services. The delegation was received by Laszlo Ballai, head of the Economic Policy Department of the Central Committee. [Text] [Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 6 Oct 84 p 4 AU]

FINANCE MINISTER VISITS CSSR--Istvan Hetenyi, finance minister, paid an official visit to the CSSR from 4 to 6 October at the invitation of Leopold Ler, finance minister. He held talks on the two countries' economic and financial relations. He exchanged views with Milos Jakes, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Central Committee secretary, and Rudolf Rohlicek and Svatopluk Potac, deputy premiers. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Oct 84 p 9 AU]

AGREEMENT WITH SPAIN--A Hungarian-Spanish working plan on cultural, educational, and scientific cooperation was signed on Friday, 5 October, in Madrid. The agreement for 1985-87 stipulates, among other things, the exchange of experts, scholarships, the mutual visit of artistic groups, and the organization of exhibitions. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Oct 84 p 9 AU]

FINNISH AGRICULTURAL MINISTER VISITS---Toivo Ylajarvi, Finnish minister of agriculture and forestry, paid a visit to Hungary from 4 to 9 October at the invitation of Jeno Vancsa, minister of agriculture and food. He held talks on the possibilities of developing bilateral cooperation and visited agricultural and food industry enterprises. Toivo Ylajarvi was received by Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. He met with Peter Veress, foreign trade minister, Istvan Szabo, chairman of the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives, and Bela Csendes, deputy chairman of the National Planning Office. In his press conference on Tuesday, 9 October, the Finnish minister expressed his interest in the development of bilateral relations in agriculture, forestry and food industry and saw possibilities for joint development of medicinal herbs and spice plant growing and processing. [Summary] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Oct 84 p 5 AU]

CSO: 2500/46

RELATIONS AMONG WORKERS, INTELLIGENTSIA, PARTY COMPARED

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 14-16 Sep 84 p 3

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Krajewski, Ph.D., of the Academy of Social Sciences, by Witold Markiewicz: "To Rule and Govern"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Question: It has been estimated that workers and their families account for more or less half of society in Poland. This alone points to the significance of the role they should be playing in the socialist state. I deliberately use the words "should be playing" as there exist considerable differences of opinion as regards the degree in which they are actually fulfilling this task. Hence my question: What is the actual position of workers in the existing pattern of class forces in Poland?

Answer: It is impossible to answer this question in a simple manner. To begin with, I should say that it is utopian to think that there is no political struggle for power in a people's democracy state. It is true that state ownership of the means of production guarantees the socialist character of the system, but the contents of this ownership depends on the real alignment of class forces and relations.

Polish experience shows that state property never stops being people's property, because some section of the people always subordinates the activity of the state to its own will. The only question is, which section it is and in whose interest it acts. Depending on this, it can be of a more working-class, petty-bourgeois, technocratic or bureaucratic character.

Q: If I understand you well, the difference between an engineer, a manager and a worker, in addition to simple characteristics following from the division of labor, consists in the degree of genuine control of the means of production. If so, you cannot deny that the manager is more of an owner than a single worker?

A: Maybe, but in turn the whole working class has a bigger impact on this property than, say, the group of directors.

Directors, technologists, the whole enterprise management are, in a way the conductors of an orchestra, which nevertheless remains the property of the workers. It can be said that the working class in Poland plays two roles at once: that of the productive force and that of a political force, which is not to say that it is mature enough to play both these roles.

The same applies to the conductors. They do not always limit themselves to conducting, occasionally they try to appropriate the orchestra. This sometimes leads to disputes between the two groups over the character of the state, i.e. over who should exercise power.

Q: Do you mean that the essence of social relations in Poland boils down to the relationship between the working class and the broadly conceived strata of, as you put it, conductors?

A: That's how I see it, but in reality relations between the working class and the conductors are much more complicated. The complexity rests on the fact that each class and each social stratum has a different structure of mutual relations and dependencies. The workers, as the producers of material goods, are essentially subordinated to the class of conductors. The conductors exercise power over them in their professional work. Therefore, the latter must learn how to struggle for their rights.

Q: Do you suggest the Polish worker still does not know how to do this?

A: Unfortunately, this is indeed so. It suffices to look at the history of the struggle of the Polish working class for class trade unions that are self-governing and independent of the administration. It has often happened in Poland that the administration has dominated the unions.

The same can be said about the struggle for worker self-management.

Q: But in August 1980 the workers showed that they can defend their interests well. And what about the experience with Solidarity?

A: The experience with Solidarity is not the best example here, because the working class, instead of struggling against the deformations of socialism, as it declared in August 1980, began to fight against the state as much. Instead of struggling for the working-class character of the state, the workers--although it is true that they were not the driving force--allowed the former Solidarity to be put on an antistate course. In this way they struck at their own strategic interests, and, as it turned out later, also at their current interests.

Q: But isn't the demand for struggle against the distortions caused by the conductor classes overly idealistic? After all, in daily life it is the administration that holds power.

A: The Polish experience of the last few years has demonstrated that this does not have to be so, that it is the trade unions that can be in a stronger position. But the point is to use this strength in a wise way, concordant with class interest. After all, the working class in socialism is not only the world of labor but also the main political force. Hence it is authorized to struggle for independent and self-governing trade unions and the working-class character of the state.

Q: In the theoretical model, the latter role should however be played by the party, which elevates the workers to the rank of a political force and sees to it that the conductors do not take over the orchestra. However, I get the impression that the party too often neglects these duties....

A: --which leads swiftly to an aggravation of the conflicts and the exacerbation of the division into those who govern and those who rule, a division that objectively exists. Depending on whether efforts are made to overcome it or whether it is allowed to widen, it will either contribute to the development of the socialist society or lead to a crisis.

It is the duty of the party to learn about the will of the working class and impose that will on those who govern. To "rule" means precisely to impose one's will upon others, whereas one can govern by carrying out somebody else's will. The governing should not be of a working class character at all, on the contrary, it should be of the broadest social nature, as well as being done in a professional way. Those who govern must step outside their own stratum and see the political role of the ruling class in technological terms. On the other hand, the working class must remember that it is impossible to govern on the basis of the political will of workers alone, without a qualified staff of experts.

Q: A chapter of the resolution of the 9th PZPR Congress deals with the leading role of the party in society and its guiding role in the state. A lot was said about it before but practice has always departed from theory to a greater or lesser extent.

A: I must admit that the party, thanks to its experienced cadres, is generally coping well with the restoration of its guiding role in the state, whereas things look much worse with regard to both the important question of the reconstruction of its leading role in society and the class rule of workers. The distortions occurred especially during Gierek's rule, when the party claimed to be the "perfect" instrument for filling top posts. In this respect it exercised absolute power, but it had little to say in society. As a result, it had no trouble communicating with the factory manager but plenty of difficulties when it wanted to communicate with the workers.

It seems to me that the Ninth Congress was the breakthrough in this respect, especially so as there had already been examples of the correct discharging of both roles by the party which could now be copied. I have in mind the activity of the Polish Workers Party (PPR).

Q: Don't you think the same could be said of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS)? As far as I know, both parties had a professional apparatus for working with its own class and shaping its own intelligentsia or developing theoretical thought, i.e., the things that are most badly needed at present.

A: That's true. Poland's working class has not produced its own intelligentsia yet. This can only be done by its political force, which, however, has not done anything towards developing it since more or less the mid-1960's.

It is important from the class point of view whose interests are expressed by the intelligentsia. It expresses only its own interests, it exists just for itself. Whereas all the other social classes are trying to win the intelligentsia over for their own ends. Only at this point is it possible to speak about peasant, working class or petty urban bourgeois intelligentsia. In this sense, the working class intelligentsia is too weak and has far too few representatives compared to the size of its social group. Probably the situation with regard to the peasant intelligentsia is better.

Working intelligentsia has always come from alien classes. The criterion of its identification was the ability to develop and use spiritual tools of work in keeping with the interest of the working class. The problem is this: a member of the intelligentsia must decide for himself whether he wants to represent the interests of the stratum to which he formally belonged or the class which he wants to support through his conscious choice. The party should be made up of workers in the first place and of the part of the intelligentsia which is determined to defend the interests of the working class.

Q: But the situation is more complicated than that now, as a large part of the party intelligentsia represents its own milieu in the party.

A: This is a misunderstanding. The intelligentsia has its artistic associations to represent the interests of its various strata. Whereas the worker party, as the name itself suggests, is for those who cooperate with the workers. In one and the same organization, the worker and the intellectual devise the political stand of the working class. The worker represents common sense and spontaneity, while the intellectual theoretician tackles the problem in terms of a social process. Therefore, the worker's intelligentsia are those who help workers implement their own class rule, not those who rule in their name. Governing must be precisely an expression of class rule, and the will of the workers.

Q: But is it possible to govern simply on the basis of the down-to-earth consciousness of the working people?

A: No, it isn't. At one time this was the essence of the dispute between the KOR and the party: Is it or is it not possible to build a "Republic of Self-management?" Self-management is not the same thing as self-government. There is no way in which you could vote out or vote in a technology. This must be decided by specialists. Today the Polish system can only be based on the worker and peasant political factor, or the expert knowledge of educated people and on management and leadership through self-management bodies. On its own, each of the three factors will lead either to distortions or to a change of the political system.

In the capitalist system, every owner of a firm is capable of keeping his director under control. In socialism, the workers are not in the position of the private entrepreneur so they have to resort to political measures as an organized force.

In my opinion, Polish specialists are unwilling to accept the fact that when they got rid of capitalists, their place was filled by the new ruling class,

namely the workers. For many, the ideal solution would be to have no owners at all. If the prevailing model were one in which the working class was aware of the fact that it could rule but at the same time it had to co-govern, while the group of conductors could be equally aware that class rule is not exercised by them and that their expert knowledge and governing skills should be put at the service of the working class, then we would have a mature system. For the time being, the awareness that it is necessary to govern in keeping with the will of the workers is neither universal nor accepted.

Q: And what happens when, as happened in the past, the party and government leadership embarks on an antiworker course?

A: This was the reason for the working class protests of 1976 and August 1980. In this situation it is necessary to replace the party leadership. So either the new leadership arrives as a result of transformations within the party, or the working class protest erupts. However, if the party and government leadership is replaced and assumes a worker-oriented line, and yet the attacks against the party and state do not subside, then this is a sign of lack of maturity in the working people and of a lack of understanding of the essence of class struggle.

Recently, the central authorities in Poland were smashed because the 8th PZPR Congress proved incapable of straightening out the wrong line taken by the party. A new center emerged and adopted a pro-worker course. It was in the interest of the working class to protect such a center. Let me say it again: the principal difference between the working people under capitalism and socialism consists in the fact that the struggle is not against the state but for its class character.

Q: But even within the working class, the interests may differ....

A: But the basic interest is identical. It is true that the whole class does not identify itself with what was said at the 16th Plenum, which should be obvious. Most of the speakers took the floor on behalf of their own communities. There were of course different views, but that doesn't matter. The fact that some workers urged that heads should fall does not mean that they will indeed be falling today or tomorrow. There is no such mechanism at work here. The conclusion to be drawn from the more harshly worded statements is that the representatives of individual communities simply got impatient with the too slow pace of the implementation of the party program. We should have such talk on a daily basis. You certainly must not stop a worker venting his feelings.

Q: I'm not saying that one should, but I think that if the worker has such rights, then the one who is attacked by him should also have such rights?

A: But who denies him that right? We have got accustomed to polite statements read from a piece of paper. You can organize scientific seminars in this way, they will be boring but may still be useful. However, individual social groups are filled with emotions. If, on top of that, their brains take the upper hand over their emotions, they can accomplish something important.

Let me go back to the "falling heads," which is usually a reference to anti-intelligentsia sentiments. Do such sentiments exist? I think they do, but their contents are different. The conscious element among the workers and, I presume, also the working class intelligentsia are opposed to the attempts to impose the intellectuals' view of the world on others as the only correct and objective one. I, too, am against the megalomania of the intelligentsia and its striving to understand only itself.

On the other hand, nobody who puts a high value on knowledge, theoretical and expert thinking and effective action can adopt an anti-intelligentsia attitude. What the workers are against is something I would term as neonobility spreading without restraints among a large part of the intelligentsia. It is this part of this class, representing for the most part the dilettantism of armchair politicians, that hides behind the backs of the whole Polish intelligentsia, and cries out aloud that "intellectuals are being attacked."

Well, some of them are being attacked, but only those who believe that their qualifications or degrees alone and not their work determines their position in society.

Q: Finally, there is the question, who is attacking them?

A: All hard working people are against them; most of the workers and peasants and that part of the intelligentsia that knows its work and does it well.

That part of the intelligentsia that is competent and works hard has always been treated with respect by the workers, the trade unions or the party, notwithstanding differing views on various matters. I believe that this is also the way it is today.

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ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF CULTURAL POLICY OUTLINED

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[Article by Jerzy Kossak: "The Cultural Gains of People's Poland and the Party's Struggle for Further Socialist Development of Culture"]

[Text] Cultural matters should not be examined outside the broader context of sociopolitical problems, especially today in connection with the situation in Poland. We are extricating ourselves from the social and economic crisis brought on by a complicated tangle of our errors and actions by antisocial forces. This crisis was deliberately intensified by counterrevolutionary forces guided by foreign centers of subversion. Their momentum was checked on 13 December 1981. Now it is time to reinvigorate all the spheres of social life and return to the Leninist ideas of socialist construction, Leninist norms of political life, and Leninist concepts of the development of socialist culture.

This means devoting particular attention to the patterns of development of the culture associated with the socialist system. We want to define in particular these patterns and processes, which are of a long-term nature. We want also to name the areas in which the attacks by our political opponents have made themselves felt. Cultural matters were discussed on numerous occasions at the National Conference of PZPR [Polish United Workers' Party] Delegates, as a major, fundamental social topic and an area of ideological struggle for the consciousness of society. The Conference evaluated and summed up the 2-1/2 years of implementation of the 9th Extraordinary Party Congress. In his address at the close of the Conference proceedings, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR, stated that "the Conference was a continuation of the ideas of the 9th Congress, and at the same time a powerful, unequivocal affirmation of the validity and suitability of these ideas. We have assumed responsibility for making certain that there will never be and can never be a return either to the pre-August distortions or to the pre-December anarchy, to the threat to socialism. Only the party can guarantee that this line will be implemented."

There are 2 fundamental sources of the strength of our party and of its ability to lead the country into new paths of dynamic social, economic, and cultural development. The first source is a close bond with the laboring

masses, and especially with the major industrial working class. The other is internationalism and fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and all the countries of the socialist community. The report of the Central Committee Politburo presented at the National Delegate Congress by Comrade Jaruzelski pointed out once again that events in Poland not only have an internal dimension, but also evolve against the backdrop of the complex international situation.

"Our people," said Comrade Jaruzelski, "learned an important lesson from imperialism. We saw it in action, from a short distance, face to face. It did not succeed in its design of using Poland as the first link in a chain reaction that was to lead to destruction of the postwar territorial and political order in Europe, and consequently to violation of the Polish borders. We withstood a concentrated attack with the aid of our socialist friends. We withstood persecution of Poland. Today even slow-witted politicians in the West are beginning to understand that the hopes of dislodging Poland from the socialist community were vain ones." The Politburo report pointed out that Poland is not isolated today, but is rather an integral part of the socialist community, in the sphere of economy and culture as well as that of politics.

Recent anti-Polish propaganda in the West has had one particular characteristic. It often speaks of a so-called cultural wasteland in Poland. This is one of the most obvious lies perpetrated by Western propaganda, and yet Radio Free Europe and the reactionary political emigre circles constantly repeat this refrain.

Especially now, during the fourth decade of existence of People's Poland, should we point out the factors decisive in accelerating the development of culture in Poland following the victory of the people's power and recall the facts attesting to the accomplishment of fundamental qualitative transformations of artistic culture and the social life of works of art over a period brief in comparison to the entire era of historical development of Polish national culture. The 40 years of People's Poland have been a period of fruitful development of culture growing on the soil of the great socialist socioeconomic transformations and in turn favoring acceleration of socialist construction.

The cultural policy of our party has linked the Polish experience to the great storehouse of thought of Soviet communists and of the entire socialist community and in this way has gained a broad theoretical and ideological perspective. This has found expression in application of knowledge of the general patterns of socialist development of culture to specifically Polish conditions. The results of the cultural policy are unequivocal; they attest to dynamic evolution both in art itself and in the diffusion of art. The change in the demographic structure of Poland, the fundamentally new relationship of number of urban to number of rural inhabitants, the transformation of the working class, the participation by the countryside in general national culture, and the changes in the class of intellectuals due to their origin in the fundamental working classes all create a new context for cultural activities. Socialist civilization and culture do not come about as an automatic consequence of social, economic, and industrial

progress. Their form and content depend on the conscious activities of society as a whole, and especially on creative and active figures in the field of culture. They depend on cultural policy.

The objective restraints and barriers that had existed in bourgeois-landowner Poland from 1918 to 1939 were destroyed from the outset in People's Poland. These restraints and barriers could not be broken over that period by the action and initiative of the progressive cultural activists. Why were the hopes then tied to achievement of independence by Poland in 1918 so little realized? Why did so many fine individual and public initiatives fail to come to fruition?

The cultural policy of the bourgeois government was embodied above all in a program of enrichment of representative culture and support of elitist institutions. The government program of Poland between the wars did not democratize culture, and in the sphere of ideas and values it linked the world of artistic vision to the interests of the affluent classes. Over the entire 20 years between the wars, the camp of the political left consistently promoted the cause of dissemination of culture and the links between the new art and social structure and living conditions. Communists were not alone in this endeavor. The problem of intellectual conservatism, of fear of the new, was also perceived by bourgeois radicals and representatives of the democratic center.

Three groups of causes of cultural stagnation in prewar Poland were observed at that time:

- the extreme poverty of the masses caused by the economic depression and the structural economic crisis;
- the stagnation of the social structure, as a result of which individual attempts to rise above the condition in which the lower classes found themselves has poor prospects for success;
- the elitist culture isolated from lifegiving association with the people itself and confined to the circle of tastes, needs, ideals, and morality of the upper affluent strata.

The watchword of the left, break with the cultural disinheritance of the masses, was consequently linked to a broader social and political program. The ideologists and theoreticians of the left even during the years between the wars showed the culture-creating power of the class which was to fashion a new society, but which even then imparted a new meaning to the phenomena of bourgeois reality. The sociocultural decline alone bequeathed by the 2 decades between the wars would require vast social transformations and material expenditures in order to arrive at a state in which it is possible to speak of effective action by the masses in diffusion of cultural values. But in addition People's Poland had to start from the position of a country utterly destroyed by war and occupation.

Poland's wartime losses were especially severe in the sphere of science, education, and culture. The war destroyed 60 percent of the property of

schools and scientific institutions and 93 percent of school libraries. It destroyed 17 institutions of higher learning, 487 intermediate schools, 35 theaters, and about 35 percent of the country's cultural establishments. The country was robbed of the majority of its most precious works of art. Many of these masterpieces were recovered after the war, but many were irretrievably lost. We must also remember the almost total destruction of Warsaw, the greatest center of Polish science and culture. The most painful losses were those of human life, afflicting the Polish intelligentsia in particular.

The universal struggle of the Polish people against the occupying aggressor was accompanied by disputes over the form of government of postwar Poland. Questions of science, education, and culture held prominent places in the programs of the various political groupings. These questions were the most consistently formulated by the communists. The ideological program declaration of the Polish Workers' Party in 1943, "What are we fighting for?", also contained a program for democratization of education and culture calling for expansion of the network of schools, scientific establishments, libraries, houses of culture, and other cultural establishments, compulsory education of children to age 16, and free education at all levels, a prerequisite for access to education by worker and peasant children. In the declaration we read, for example, that "the world of science, literature, and art must be given all-round support by the state in order for it to be able to develop."

The rise of the people's power inaugurated a new stage in the history of Polish culture as well. Conditions entirely different from those before the war were created for development of education and science, the cultural progress of society as a whole, and above all advancement of the workers, previously unprivileged in this respect. Cultural development immediately after the war accompanied the major socioeconomic and political processes, rebuilding of the economy, and the changes in the political awareness of the people. This laid the foundations for large-scale appearance of new content and ideas in art and of new cultural needs of the workers. During this initial period fundamental changes were also made in the educational system at all levels and in the system of cultural institutions. The earlier bourgeois organization of the market of culture was replaced by a new organism made up of state and social institutions consciously and systematically serving the cause of universal diffusion of spiritual and artistic values, that is, by a new system of publishing houses, libraries, theaters, moving picture theaters, radio, and newspapers. The elitism in the life of the creative circles was broken, and changes in the awareness of the old creative intelligentsia made themselves felt in the form of works of new social and political content. A new generation of distinguished creative artists began to rise.

The next period extended from 1949 to 1955. Additional socioeconomic changes of fundamental importance in the life of the entire people were made at this time. Industrialization and urbanization of the country brought with them advancement of unprivileged groups and strata, relieving them of the pressure of the parish and petty bourgeois tradition. The new ranks of the popular intelligentsia began to define the character of this

social stratum. The working class increased greatly in number and enhanced its social prestige as a class, as leader of the people. Expansion of the system of schools and of the mass information, propaganda, and culture communication media brought about a profound revolution in cultural needs, tastes, and habits. Despite the many errors made, the material foundation was laid during these years for the development of modern socialist culture, and thus also a tangible basis for realization of the watchword of the generations of Polish revolutionaries, the masses of creators and consumers of culture.

Art is constantly present in our lives today, for one thing thanks to dissemination among the masses of radio, television, and cheap large-printing publications radically changing the previous ceremonial nature of contacts with art. Another reason is the entry of art into the field of large-scale housing construction and the areas of industrial plants. A third factor is the progress made in industrial pattern-making, introducing artistic values into the world of mass-produced articles in daily use.

Work in esthetic education now was accompanied by broader programs aimed at encouraging society to take part in cultural activities; these programs represented an element of the cultural policy conducted by the party, state, and cultural organizations. The role of radio and television grew constantly in the context of these actions in several directions (in 1982 there were 8.875 million radio and 8.547 million television subscribers in Poland). Radio and television, having reached a significant level of dissemination, acted together to determine the direction of cultural changes in Polish society and reduced the cultural distance between the basic classes and strata of the people. This involved in particular inclusion of rural areas in the national system of circulation of information and cultural subjects. It was an important factor in modernizing the rural lifestyle. In keeping with the resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR, and in implementation of the law on dissemination of culture enacted by the Sejm [Parliament] on 26 April 1984, we are now striving to provide opportunity for fuller, large-scale participation in culture in all environments. This implies, among other things, more intensive involvement of social organizations and cultural institutions in the processes of establishing new cultural centers and the processes of adjustment of previous rural inhabitants, especially young people, to the environment of modern industry and to the pace of urban life.

From the first years of existence of People's Poland, trends in dissemination of culture have been shaped by the development needs of the country, and also by the new conditions of cooperation and cultural exchange, especially with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. Polish literature, classic and contemporary, has been made accessible in our country. Between 1944 and 1982, 3.513 million copies of the works of Jan Kochanowski were published, 15.408 million copies of the works of Adam Mickiewicz, including more than 7 million copies of "Pan Tadeusz," 6.263 million copies of the works of Juliusz Slowacki, 19.983 million copies of works of Henryk Sienkiewicz, 17.725 million copies of Boleslaw Prus, 14.389 million of Stefan Zeromski, 17.501 million of Maria Konopnicka, and 5.849 million of Maria Dabrowska. At the same time, the artistic and scientific literature

of the entire world has been disseminated on an unprecedented scale. To take but one example, translation of books, we get a picture of the situation reflected in the following: from 1944 to 1982, 12,657 book titles by Russian authors and authors of other peoples of the Soviet Union, including 113.575 million copies of belles lettres titles, were translated and published. Over this period 1.967 million copies of works by A. Pushkin, 2.433 million by L. Tolstoy, 1.58 million by F. Dostoyevskiy, 2.179 million by M. Sholokhov, 839,000 by I. Ehrenburg, 1.847 million by B. Polevoy, and 3.043 million by A. Gaydar made their appearance. Over the same period there were published 2.583 million copies of works by Shakespeare, 3.79 million by Hans Christian Andersen, 2,947 by Honore de Balzac, 3.058 million by Mark Twain, 5.162 million by Jack London, 3.852 million by Jules Verne, and 1.658 million by Thomas Mann. The great classics of the world have found their way to the masses of readers.

Our motion picture industry can boast of great accomplishments. Every year it turns out around 35 new feature films. The number of television films is constantly increasing and the television film audience is growing.

Significant changes are taking place in the plastic arts. The role of plastic creativity is becoming increasingly prominent not only in the production of significant artistic achievements and new forms of expression, but also in shaping the needs and creative dispositions of consumers. The need for cooperation with plastic artists is increasingly felt by industry. In recent years considerable progress has been observed in organization of the public market for individual works of plastic art.

There is growing concern on the part of society and the state for the monuments of national culture. Many new proposals are being made for the administration of these possessions. The function of museums has been broadened, and the level of interest in these establishments has risen (in 1982, 495 museums organized 1843 exhibits which were visited by a total of 15 million persons). The museums have overcome the tradition of passive waiting for visitors, they taking upon themselves the obligation of educating so-called mass consumers of artistic culture. In addition to conducting guided tours and organizing lectures, they present their collections away from the museums themselves and cooperate with schools, radio, television, and other cultural and educational establishments.

A special role in the dissemination of culture is played by the houses of culture, which try to extend their influence to different environments and different age groups, in order to satisfy the varied needs and interests of society. In addition to methodological instructional activities, from year to year these establishments intensify their ideological educational and esthetic activities, creating conditions for development of intellectual and artistic endeavors. At the same time, they represent a point of contact controlled by the state between cultural activities and sociocultural endeavors. In 1960, 403 houses of culture were in operation in Poland. By 1977 this number had grown to 1974, and the number of community centers and clubs from 11,160 to 18,377 over the same period. At the same time, especially during the second half of the 1970's there was a decline in the activity of many of these establishments and a decrease in their social attractiveness. The law on dissemination of culture and on

the rights and obligations of workers engaged in dissemination of culture calls in this situation for a new stage of reactivation, development, and increase in the social prestige of these establishments and their personnel. In local cultural endeavors a special role is played also by the more than 500 sociocultural and regional societies cooperating with the professional cultural dissemination establishments.

While speaking of accomplishments, we should also mention that the cultural development program adopted in 1974 was not carried out in the second half of the 1970's. There was a lag in renovation and expansion of the printing and sound recording industries and of cinematographic resources. This had a harmful effect particularly on the production of books, at a time when the needs of readers were growing. The disparity between town and countryside in cultural infrastructure also began to intensify. Errors were made in the policy toward creative circles, as well as repertoire distortions in theaters and concert halls. The program ambitions of radio and television in the sphere of culture were lowered. There was a weakening of the action of Marxist literary and artistic criticism, and the activities of schools of all types in the sphere of esthetic education diminished.

The party subjected this state of affairs to penetrating analysis at its 9th Extraordinary Congress, setting forth in its final resolution a program for improving the situation. Emphasis was placed on increasing the production of books. The highest annual increase in book production, 33 percent over the previous year, was achieved in 1982, under difficult economic conditions. We are trying to keep up this pace, and also to make up lags in other areas. At the mid-point of implementation of the resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR, the National Delegate Congress came to the conclusion that the tempo and direction of the changes are fully in keeping with the program outlined by the Congress.

The social role and ranking of socialist culture in shaping the present and future of people's Poland is closely bound up with the strength of the ideas and values of this culture. Socialist culture contains humanistic ideals and systems of values which define the meaning of life, fashion a scientific world outlook, and impart to aspirations in life a direction worthy of the man of liberated labor. As a system of ideas and values, socialist culture makes the internal life of man richer and inspires him to undertake progressive social activities.

In its resolutions, the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR stressed that culture plays a particular role in the building of socialist ties between persons, and that culture is a form of social awareness directly linked to class ideology and morality. The documents of this congress also emphasized the fundamental truth that socialist culture must protect the national awareness by constantly reinforcing the progressive and humanistic values characteristic of it. The party, fully aware of the decisive importance of culture in perpetuation of the people, development of its creative forces, and harmonious and spiritually rich development of man and society, is greeting artists with a positive program for development of contemporary Polish art.

In recent years Polish creative circles have become the target of especially heavy attack by centers of subversion. Attempts at infiltration of these circles by both domestic and foreign antisocialist circles are constantly being repeated. Being aware of this situation, the party wants to renew the high prestige enjoyed by Polish artists that had been lowered by association of part of the artistic milieu with political adventurism and antisocialist programs. After all, this prestige is part of our national tradition; in the past it was associated with civic commitment by artists to the cause of progress, democracy, and social justice. "The workers' movement," said Comrade W. Jaruzelski at the National Conference of PZPR Delegates, "at an early date attracted many outstanding men of culture and science to it. They gave their knowledge and talents to this movement. They developed socialist thought. They struggled steadfastly with obscurantism and social injustice. Not infrequently they dedicated their lives to the idea of national and social liberation."

The social role of culture not only is not slackening, but is growing now, when the fundamental battle, along with the struggle for production and provision of supplies for the population and for better organization of social life, will be fought in the sphere of human attitudes, motives, and emotional reactions. It is the role of integrator of attitudes on the basis of socialist values, the role of initiator of progress on the basis of a critical and generalizing examination of reality, the role of forming patriotism on the basis of knowledge of history, the fate of the nation, and the import of social changes. Viewing this role in such a light, the party specifies 2 matters on which depends utilization of the social forces of culture in the immediate as well as in the more distant future. They are participation by artists and intellectuals in the joint effort toward shaping of social life in Poland and participation by art in the life of society, that is, the social dimensions of dissemination of the values of artistic culture, the democratization of culture.

The right to culture is an indispensable part of the rights of man under the socialist system, along with the right to work and the right to education. The dissemination of specific artistic values, contents, and views becomes an element of reconstruction of the thinking of society on a mass scale, and thus an important element in renewal of the spiritual life of Polish society. This in essence is a serious problem of struggle for the ideological consciousness of society, for its intellectual and emotional union with the socialist system. It is accordingly the sphere of ideological class warfare between socialism and capitalism.

The outlines of the political and ideological warfare waged by the enemies of People's Poland in the sphere of culture emerged with particular clarity after August of 1980. We can name the 4 main areas in which the war was waged and in which the forces of reaction are attempting even now to continue the war with socialism. An effort was made above all to take advantage of the social prestige of representatives of artistic circles in the sphere of political struggle, to transform artistic circles into an area of particularly heavy penetration and propaganda of antisocialist ideas. A broad campaign was conducted with the aim of altering the character of basic content, of changing the ideological trait of Polish culture.

Lastly, an attempt was made to change the organizational character of cultural policy. The battles of antisocialist forces over the type of sponsorship of the arts and of artistic culture, and over organization and ways of financing cultural activities, are linked to this last-named area of political and ideological warfare in the sphere of culture.

All these tendencies became apparent especially at the "Congress of Polish Culture" held on 11 and 12 December 1981. These programs, ideas, and forms of action were a response to the positive program in the sphere of culture advanced and adopted at the 9th Extraordinary Conference of the PZPR. It was, after all, obvious that, soon after the Resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary Congress had been adopted, the party, the government, the Ministry of Culture and Art, and the Sejm Commission on Culture worked intensively to arrive at new solutions in the area of sponsorship of culture and financing of culture, partnership of artists and intellectuals in shaping the cultural development program, joint determination of the procedure for spending money for culture, and monitoring the effects of cultural activities. Work in these areas has proceeded without interruption since the end of the congress. It bore fruit in the Sejm on 3 and 4 May 1982. It has resulted in the Fund for Development of Culture, the National Culture Council, and the Law on the Office of Minister of Culture and Art. Even at that time programmatic and legislative work began on the law on dissemination of culture and the law on artistic institutions and reconstruction of the motion picture film making system.

The forces of reaction tried to thwart these changes in the legislation, program, and activities of cultural institutions, since it was clear that they serve the cause of Polish socialist culture, and the opposition expressly defined itself as an antisocialist force favoring a program in conflict with the interests of the Polish working class and with the class interests of socialist forces at the international level. It was a question of torpedoing the efforts of the party, the state, and the Sejm by promoting an entirely different concept of cultural policy and an entirely different system of organizing cultural life. This purpose was to be served by the "Congress of Polish Culture," for which preparations were scheduled for the second half of 1981. The organizational form of the "Congress" was worked out in autumn of 1981, during the period of the counterrevolutionary threat.

The "Congress" may be defined as a continuation of the activities of the opposition in artistic circles, and especially in the ZLP [Union of Polish Writers], at least since 1967 or 1968. However, the struggle by the opposition in the sphere of culture in the second half of 1981 had specific features of its own. The departure from the revisionist formula was characteristic. So-called improvement in socialism was not enough. There was public declaration in favor of the aggressive and retaliatory tendencies in the West and in favor of a program to change the alignment of forces in Europe established as a result of the victory over National Socialism. There was, lastly, open ideological and organizational association of the leaders of the opposition in intellectual and artistic circles with the reactionary extremism in the Solidarity trade union and centers of subversion in the West.

In the sphere of culture we accordingly passed through a period of dangerous transformation of the elements of conflict into a counterrevolutionary situation. We are currently in the midst of a protracted process of overcoming the phenomena of crisis. The organizers of the counterrevolution were long at work in socialist associations and unions of artists, changing the orientation of the activities of these associations. After August of 1980, when the political opposition came to dominate the leadership of these unions and associations and there was an increase in the phenomena attesting to political adventurism and attempts to thwart the state and social system of administering cultural affairs on the part of a determined group of extremists active in artistic circles (this phenomenon intensified in Autumn of 1981), the party concentrated its efforts on repelling these attacks by the opposition.

The party concentrated its efforts on fighting for the party organizations of artistic circles, their integration into the program of the 9th Extraordinary Congress, and attraction of civic-minded and patriotic forces outside the party. Integration and increase in the initiative of the party organizations in artistic circles ensued as a result of these actions, especially after 13 December 1981. The party groups of writers, plastic artists, film producers, workers in the theater, and musicians operating under the cultural division of the PZPR Central Committee were revived and expanded the range of their activities.

An important element in restoration of the political ideological climate among the creative intelligentsia during the following period, that is, 1982 and the first half of 1983, was intensification of the activities of the Sejm Commission on Culture and Art and the party group of this commission, extension of the work of the National Culture Council, and elevation of the ranking of cultural affairs and activation of the increasingly important group of prominent intellectuals and artists in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

In an effort to restructure artistic associations and unions so that they will operate on the basis of the laws of People's Poland and in the interests of development of socialist culture, political ideological discussions were conducted with representatives of artistic circles in the cultural division of the Central Committee, in party institutions, and at the Ministry of Culture and Art. These political activities intensified in the second half of 1983, and led to organizational decisions affecting individual associations. Unity with the creative and patriotic forces of the Polish artistic world was achieved in the course of these actions.

The antisocialist forces previously in operation in artistic circles were isolated and deprived of organizational authority. The conditions were eliminated that allowed temporary existence (especially during the first half of 1982) of a form of boycott of state artistic institutions and mass communication media by substantial groups of artists (theatrical artists in particular).

We have now entered a new period, one of consolidation of the new associations and unions of artists and the new management organs of the unions,

a period of stabilization of the professional organizations of artistic circles. An important factor in establishment of the atmosphere, the political and ideological climate, in these circles, was the meeting of Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, with the new managements of the Union of Polish Writers, the Association of Polish Film Producers, and the Association of Polish Theatrical Artists. Along with further polarization of viewpoints, there has been a decrease in the number of extremely disoriented persons persisting in a state of peculiar ideological emotional shock.

The sovereignty of the people's power in artistic circles has been restored. This is only the beginning of a protracted struggle for full integration of these circles into the party program and the line of the 9th Congress. It is increasingly clear, however, that in the field of culture the socialist forces have compelled the reaction to retreat. It is attacking stubbornly from Western centers of subversion, but its ability to operate in Poland is diminishing day by day. The voice of Polish artists and intellectuals is heard with increasing clarity on a matter of the highest importance to our times, that of peace and disarmament. The expanded session of the National Culture Council on 13 January 1984, among other events, was an expression of the critical position and indignation of Polish intellectuals and artists toward the policy of Washington, which heightens international tension and aspires to military superiority in the area of mass destruction weapons, and an expression of support of the Soviet peace initiatives. An appeal was issued at this session for defense of peace and molding of public opinion in favor of protection of life on earth and of humanistic cultural values.

We will conclude our discussion with an excerpt from the speech delivered by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski at the National Conference of PZPR Delegates: "Recent years have been a harsh test for intellectual circles. Some of them have been targets of infiltration, a typical victim of 'intellectual aggression' by stubborn enemies of socialism. The majority of intellectuals, representatives of the intelligentsia, demonstrated their loyalty to socialist Poland, to the ideal of social progress. The associations and unions of artists are being strengthened in their restored form. Independent activities in harmony with the laws and rights of People's Poland are evolving in the clash with the enemies. We appeal to intellectuals, to men of science, and to teachers, creators of the spiritual wealth of the people, to the Polish intelligentsia. Nothing can replace your knowledge and talent combined with a sense of social duty."

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CSO: 2600/1230

TIGHTENING OF DISCIPLINE, ORDER RECOMMENDED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Sep 84 p 2

[Interview with Colonel Tadeusz Kwiatkowski, secretary of the Council of Ministers' Committee for the Observance of Law, Order and Public Discipline; date and place not specified]

[Text] Question: What are the committee's guidelines in determining its program and areas of work?

Answer: The committee and its bodies plan and carry out their activities under 6-month work plans, taking into account relevant analyses and assessments. At the same time, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, recommends operations to the committee to counteract the most damaging phenomena as does General Czeslaw Kiszczak, the committee chairman.

Q: Could you outline some of your current activities?

A: In the first 6 months of 1984, the committee defined 11 targets and forwarded them to working commissions and the secretariat for implementation. These targets have been designed to increase discipline and order on the railways, in road transport and to better control the management and distribution of liquid fuels. Other operations to improve public discipline are also being carried out.

The nonagricultural private sector is being inspected at the moment.

Q: What steps are you taking to fight delinquency?

A: Many research programs include ways of improving methods of fighting delinquency in all aspects but, especially thefts, burglaries, assaults and rapes. Their main concern is to improve methods of detection, to reduce the time before preliminary proceedings and to work out proper methods of work for institutions enforcing the law. Not only the punishment but also its effect on the particular culprit is of importance here. This is the reason why special emphasis has been put on flexibility in applying material and other punishment, i.e. the publication of the verdict and the name and address of the perpetrator in the press.

The main aims are to emphasize the concept that crime does not pay and to increase public contempt for the perpetrator.

Q: What about the committee's work with regard to further improvement of the law. Could you tell us something more on the subject?

A: Our constant and most important aim is to improve the law by adapting it better to present-day needs, by making it clearer and more effective in protecting the interests of the public and the state. It is essential to observe two principles--stability of the law which should help shape a special legal culture and constant adjustment of the law to the current situation.

Being aware of the shortcomings in particular laws, especially with regard to their poor adjustment to the present situation, the committee's secretariat started amending some of them, including those spelled out in the criminal code. The main reason behind these amendments is to step up legal responsibility for the most dangerous and frequent crimes, especially those committed by people with criminal records.

A proposal was also made to change some regulations defined in the criminal code in order to speed up legal proceedings, involving people who have been caught red-handed.

Basing its knowledge on the experiences amassed during the operation carried out on the railways, the committee drafted a new law which steps up discipline among railway workers, protects passengers and property transported by the railways and insures better legal protection for railway employees.

The proposed changes in the housing law, for example, have been tailored to increase the responsibility of people managing the flat resources as well as the discipline of tenants.

Q: What are the new amendments you are going to draft?

A: The committee would like to review other legal acts as well, focusing on the effectiveness of these laws. This applies to the labor law, some laws on social security, damage insurance, etc., those most frequently abused. It is well known that ignorance of labor legislation brings about low work productivity, waste, poor quality production and eventually losses of billions of zlotys.

The abusing of social rights produces disturbances in institutions, enterprises and trade. Let me remind you, a large number of shops closed during the summer due to personnel sickness. Similar examples can be quoted endlessly. It is society which pays for the losses amassed as a result of such behavior.

Q: Do you intend to make more law amendments in the immediate future?

A: No, we don't. It would require extra strengths, especially as this is serious work, calling for considerable research. We want to act in accordance with the committee's powers.

Q: What about the immediate future?

A: More operations to step up order and discipline will be carried out.

A new operation will be launched to significantly hamper profiteering in the sale of household equipment items.

The home production volume of this equipment and imports combined do not justify present shortages. Household equipment is being sold under the counter, unfortunately, in enterprises and shops. We would like to draw your attention to the work of so-called citizens' committees organized among queue members. It is no secret to anyone that some people sell their place in the queue or buy equipment to resell at a higher price. This encourages profiteering; the man in the street has little chance of buying this equipment normally.

The research programs have been designed to assess the effectiveness of the punishment of the restriction of personal liberty. This punishment, imposed both by courts and misdemeanor courts has not played the role we expected it would. Enterprises, for example, will not employ persons sentenced in this way. The execution of this punishment may become easier in auxiliary enterprises set up by institutions subordinated to the Ministry of Justice.

These enterprises, mostly rendering services to the population, could carry out simple public work such as cleaning forests, parks and town squares, etc. Had this punishment been properly executed it could have played a crucial educational role especially in the case of the young offender who is most likely to be capable of reform. It could have replaced confinement.

CSO: 2600/83

OBJECTIVES OF NEW ACADEMY EXPLAINED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Sep 84 p 3

[Statement by Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences Marian Orzechowski, reported by Tadeusz Belerski: "Center for Marxist-Leninist Thought"]

[Text] The Academy of Social Sciences was established by a law of Sejm a few months ago. The academy was first conceived in resolutions of the Ninth Congress of the PZPR. This document underscores the importance of the development of Marxist social and humanist sciences.

For this academy as for all other schools in our country, 1 October marks the beginning of the academic year. This will be the start of a very important period for the Academy of Social Sciences -- the beginning of its growth as an institute of higher learning. The school, its academic and didactic tasks and its structure are described below by Deputy Member of the PZPR Central Committee and Rector Marian Orzechowski.

[Orzechowski] The Ninth Congress of the PZPR emphasized the importance of development of Marxist-Leninist social sciences and the dissemination of Marxist thought in Poland. On the basis of conclusions drawn from our country and party's previous development, the Sejm resolution stated that it is creative application of Marxism-Leninism, Marxist analysis of social phenomena, preparation and training of cadres and shaping of the social consciousness are necessary for proper realization of the party's line and avoidance by the party of distortions in its practices.

The Idea of the Ninth Congress' Decree

The Ninth Congress' resolution committed the party leadership to the creation of conditions providing a close bond between courageous and penetrating theoretical thinking and everyday action, the drawing from the growth of theory of a critical attitude to reality and inspiration in the formulation of a program of party policy.

The ideas contained within the resolution and the challenge to the party

leadership and Central Committee formed the basis for the resolution by the Twelfth Plenum of the Central Committee in May 1983. It pointed out the need for a new situation and strengthening of the party's academic and theoretical foundations and the main resource in this endeavor is supposed to be the Academy of Social Sciences. The plenum resolution accentuated the fact that the present situation of the party demands the concentration and better use of its forces and resources. The resolution of the Twelfth Plenum addressed the need for raising the position of Marxism-Leninism in the life of the party and public and for accelerating the training and preparation of Marxist-Leninist cadres. The fruit of this was the Politburo's resolution in October of last year which put into detailed form the recommendations made by the plenum by establishing the functions, tasks and structure of the academy.

The establishment of the Academy of Social Sciences is not and may not be only change of signs or a mechanical consolidation of the party's two previously functioning institutes of theory, science and practical research, the Institute of Fundamental Problems of Marxism-Leninism and the Higher School of Social Sciences. The main purpose of the academy is to reevaluate and analyze everything that is the lasting achievement of the above-named institutions and to take on the new problems and responsibilities arising from the new situation, the condition of the party and public and the present stage and tasks in the building of socialism in our country.

The academy is an integrated structure for academic and didactic support of the party. Its main task can be expressed as follows: the academy is to shape and improve the party's political apparatus and as much as it can provide support to the PZPR's fraternal parties and youth and social organizations. The academy is supposed to train and perfect highly qualified cadres in socio-economic and sociopolitical sciences.

The Party's Academic and Didactic Resources

The academy realizes these tasks in many ways and degrees, from studies for master's degrees to post-graduate work, doctoral studies, seminars and docent work. The academy is furthermore responsible for conducting academic research on the development of Marxism-Leninism and the practical aspects of the building of socialism in Poland. It is also responsible for preparing academic, diagnostic and prognostic reports on current party activity. Another duty of the academy is the propagation of the achievements of Marxist social sciences in, above all, philosophy, political economy, political science, sociology, social psychology, the study of religion and society, theory of culture, the history of the Polish and international worker's movement and economic and social policy.

The academy's structure suits its tasks and functions. Two faculties were established: sociopolitical sciences and socioeconomic sciences. These faculties are organized into institutes. Three of these correspond to the three traditional components of Marxism-Leninism: the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, the Institute of Political Economics and the Institute of Scientific Socialism.

The Institute of Scientific Socialism is still in the process of its establishment. Aside from normal didactic activities, its main task will be to conduct studies on the theory of socialist (communist) formation and the broader aspects of the theory and practice of building socialism in Poland. Out of the other institutes being formed, I would like to mention the ones that are most relevant to the new problems faced in the creation of socialism in our country.

Research on the Working Class

The most relevant of these institutions is the Institute for Research on the Working Class. It was a unique paradox that, within the system of organized academic study and the entire academic foundations not only of a party in a nation building socialism, a nation in which the working party should have a hegemony of power, there were no centers of study occupied with planned and systematic study of this class, its position, composition and structure, awareness, attitudes and manifestations of public activity. It is a paradox that we do not have a clear and scientifically correct answer to the question of who is a worker today and who can be considered part of the working class. We also know little of the social attitudes of the working class, its lifestyle, ideals and supreme values that shape their lives or what is its empirical social awareness. We are also unable to satisfactorily answer the question of just what is the industrial working class, who belongs to it and what makes someone part of that class. These are urgent questions and it is not a matter of indifference to the practical activities of either the party or the state.

There are also questions regarding the future. In economics and industry there will often be very essential and altogether revolutionary changes associated with computerization, robotics, bioelectronics and microprocessors. What will be the social consequences of these changes and what effect will they have on the composition and structure of people employed by industry and the contemporary working class? What will the working class be in 10 or 20 years or at the end of the century? These are new and enormously important questions for party and state policy. The Institute for Research on the Working Class, which consolidates theory with empirical systematic studies was founded because of our real needs and experiences, especially in the last few years. These experiences have also brought about the establishment of other new institutes such as the Institute of Cultural Theory and Cultural Politics, the Institute of Social Psychology and Propaganda Theory and the Institute of Religion and Society.

The Academy of Social Sciences should become a center of creative and lively Marxist-Leninist thought in Poland. Publications should serve this well but more is needed. We want to make available to all Marxist circles in Poland a two-month seminar that will enable them to meet and exchange ideas, cooperate with one another and make known to them the theories of other socialist countries and the whole world. These seminars would also be a place for promotion of the young Marxist cadres and not only that of our own school. We want to become a creative center for Marxist-Leninist thought in Poland by organizing seminars and symposia in which specialists from various disciplines

in our country could come together. We want to do this by making available our lecture and seminar halls to specialists working in other academic centers in Poland and not only in Poland for open lectures, symposia, conferences and above all joint research.

In discussing the academy, we must keep one thing in mind and I would like to name it very clearly: the creation of a real academic center requires a long time. The academy needs the support of the whole party, a dose of understanding and patience and the realization that some time will be needed before the lasting effects of our activity are felt.

The new school is also a matter of cadres and material concerns. In most of the socialist countries with similar institutions, the conditions are considerably better. We are working in very humble conditions, much humbler than those of other schools in Poland.

We are a party institute of higher learning and part of the academic and didactic underpinnings of the PZPR. We are nevertheless a school and this means that all of the academic rigors of the law on higher learning apply to us as well. However, our cadre does have more responsibilities. Every employee of the academy is a teacher, a researcher and a party activist as well.

Work on the academy's charter is in progress at this time. The charter has been approved by the Senate in consultation with the minister of higher education and technology and will be confirmed by the academy's program council.

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